1: Ammar E, [illegible]5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

her whereupon her hostess usually wraps some dry tea to take with her, and the same might happen in the case of a pot or a jar which could be spared, being given to the admirer. The spirit of giving away is also reflected in the often-heard word 'itfaddal' (you may have it), which Egyptians in general say when a person admires any of the articles of clothes, food, or any possessions.

The loosening of respect relationships is reflected in the attitude of some people with regard to the learned men and the so-called 'Koran-carriers'. Their absolute authority is dwindling, and one occasionally hears criticism of their knowledge compared to the 'ulema of the town. One villager once dubbed them as good for nothing except for eating during the ceremonies.

On the whole, people who have stayed for a long time working in town show a great deal of dissatisfaction with the village way of life. Although the majority of them feel obliged to send money to their parents, relatives, families and children, they resent the excessive demands of their relatives, and claim that towns people are free from such demands. One of the people who was working in Cairo complained to the writer that his relatives, who were supposed to be responsible for his land and sheep, did not attend to them properly while he was away. He continued, 'They only want you to give them tea and gifts on your return, and turn their backs on finding that you have not brought what they expect from you'.

The impact of urban life with its increasing pressures on the village has resulted in more and more strains in social living. The traditional social structure based on the solidarity of family and clan is losing some of its cohesive forces. The absolute authority of the old folks had been supreme, and no competition between old and young could ever be entertained. Now, the exception is not rare. The prestige and authority based on land property have also been questioned and is expressed in the common saying 'The beans are given to those who have no teeth'. With the social controls based on authority of age, power vested in the Arab councils, prestige of learned men in the village, go the clash between the ideal of hospitality and economic acquisitiveness, the emphasis on family rather than the clan, and a vague search for minding one's own business.

One meets, however, those few individuals who have spent part of their life in the city, criticizing some of the village ways of life such as pride in the clan or the extended family; they praise wealth rather than generosity, and individualism than family ties. Such persons are pitied by their relatives as 'being influenced by the life of "being away" ghurba' or as having 'an eye on Paradise and another on Hell'. In other words, such expressions are the villagers' way of describing 'the marginal man'.[1]

Such changes of social attitudes, together with the increasing pressures of economic conditions, have created an atmosphere of insecurity and

[1] See Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man, A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict*, New York, 1937.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

she curtails her nursing period but never before the termination of the first year. In this case, the 'milking goat', whose milk is preferred to that of a cow, being 'lighter', would help in feeding the child. My female informant insisted that the contrary never occurs, that a woman prolongs her nursing period to prevent pregnancy. At this point the official ideology of women differs from that in Artas as stated by Granqvist in the following quotation:

'As it is generally assumed that nursing makes a new pregnancy more difficult it may be thought that the women use it in self-protection, to postpone the unwished-for pregnancy. Women's work is so hard that it is almost unbelievable that they should wish to be constantly bearing children.'

The writer has enquired whether the same is being practised in Silwa, but he was assured the opposite. His informant might have wanted to hide this fact, as the logical conclusion of the relationship between conception and lactation lends itself to its use in the self-protective way mentioned by Granqvist. The informant added that it is the child's indisputable right to suck as long as it wants, otherwise it would become obstinate and disobedient, and it is only to pursue the more desired aim of fresh pregnancy that the mother is obliged to curtail the nursing period.

It is also recognized that a boy is usually nursed less than a girl, which also differs from the custom in Artas. The purpose is that though both should be infused with the mother's compassion, the girl is supposed to be imbued with more of it than the boy, and consequently her nursing should be longer. Yet if a newly-married woman begets a girl in her first birth, the custom is to curtail her nursing period in order to hurry the next pregnancy in the hope of begetting a boy. The short period of boys' nursing compared to that of girls' is also a clear indication of the accelerating process of boys' growth. The case of the boy who is brought up by a widow and nursed for a long time is a proverbial one for 'his unreliability, his being easily swayed, and his inability to make up his mind'. Any person who evidences such character traits is designated as one who was brought up by a widow.[1]

The different claims of the patrilineal and the matrilineal sides on the infant express themselves in the assumed different attitudes between father and mother with regard to weaning. While mothers consider a long period of suckling as conducive to compassion, fathers regard it as 'darkening the infant's mind'. This difference in attitude towards weaning could be taken as a reflection of the matrilineal sentiment, contrasted with the paternal desire of subjecting the infant to social discipline as early as possible.[2]

What is also significant is the rigid observance of the nursing of the child by his relatives. One of the main injunctions of the Koran is the pro-

[1] It also means that he has not been disciplined by his father, as will be shown later.
[2] See Chapter II.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

853 582 hibition of incestuous marriage between boys and girls who have been nursed from the same breast (foster brothers and sisters). A few incidents occur of women nursing other women's children, even when the mothers are alive, but only for special reasons, e.g. when the mother's milk is not sufficient, or when a mother has a thin underweight baby, giving hers to a fat mother with fat babies. The incidents are known, and the marriage taboo is observed. Yet such wet-nursing rarely occurs among close relatives, where future intermarriage of children is anticipated.

853 878 Significant, too, is the belief that character traits can be transmitted through the mother's milk. This is mainly emphasized by the mother's folk. Through the mother's milk the child becomes like his maternal uncles. 'If the child becomes like his maternal uncle, then he is worth praising, if he becomes like his father it is better to throw him in the sea.' The paternal side, while admitting the influence of the mother, teasingly imputes the unusual traits to her, while the strong traits are traced to the father's people. 'If the boy is not a good boy, two-thirds of his character is attributed to his maternal uncles; if he is a capable boy, then he has done no injustice to his father.'

However justifiable the claims may seem, the mother's milk is recognized as a very important factor in determining the child's character. The advice given to a man in search of a wife is to 'search for the maternal uncles of his children', as the boys would be like them through the influence of the mother's breast. With regard to this, Ali told me that the ancestor of the village (as well as other villages), G'afar, is of a higher rank of honour compared with Abdullah ibn al Zubair, the grandfather of another group of villages in the same province of Aswan. The reason is that though the two grandfathers are relatives of the Prophet of the same degree, yet the latter is not on the same level of honour because his mother and maternal uncles were slaves, while the former is of doubly honourable parentage. It is also said that 'as the roots spread and feed surreptitiously one has to choose the maternal uncles for his children'.

In this light, it is appropriate to discuss Granqvist's statement that the Arab families having Negro servants are afraid to let their children be wet-nursed by one of them, because they might acquire that 'unreasonable crossness' which they claim to characterize the Negroes. In Silwa the fear extends not only to Negroes, but to any strangers 'whose origin is not known', and who might interfere with the purity of the child's character by making it unstable, as homogeneous origin leads to a consistent and reliable character. To say that a certain person 'has origin' is to commend him, while saying he is a 'mixture' is to condemn his character. Evidence is seen in the fear of the villagers to have any mixture in either wet-nursing, or marriage, with the family of carpenters, potters and water-carriers. 582 Though the people of these families are lighter in skin than the villagers, and many of them comparatively well-to-do, they are considered as aliens and their origin is unknown. The case of the daughter of a village man

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

Chapter Five

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS AND EVENTS OF CHILDHOOD

In this chapter the main characteristics and events of childhood affecting both the social and psychological aspects of the individual's personality in Silwa are to be discussed. Infancy, with which we dealt in the last chapter, is regarded as the three or four years of the person's life at the end of which, whatever the family and individual variations may be, the infant is weaned, begins to talk and responds to adult commands. The following years are those of childhood until the age of twelve or thirteen, when the boy or the girl, at puberty, enters the adolescent stage.

In our consideration of the process of 'growing up' of children, there is hardly need to stress the fact that the process is not identical for all children. It is beyond any question that there are certain forces and conditions that bring about 'the distinctive personality constellations', e.g. the death of a sibling older or younger, loss of a mother, a father, state of child's health, child's birth order, age of parents at the time of child's birth.[1] These distinctive factors with their concomitant individual differences are recognized by the villagers. A child may be referred to as a 'child of old parents' (waldat 'ajayiz) and is usually characterized by being precocious in his development, or a 'child brought forth in the years of plenty or in the lean years', the former possessing easy and happy disposition, while the latter is expected to be nagging and irritable. In the next two chapters, however, the common prevailing forces that leave their impact on the personality development of the village children are discussed.

One of the main characteristics of this period of childhood is the pressure of sibling rivalry which is socially recognized, being evidenced in certain symbolic forms of wear, folk-lore, and symptoms of sickness. Sibling rivalry, however, is not peculiar to the child's growing up in Silwa, but, as demonstrated by Levy's projective doll-playing tests, 'represents a

[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, 'Personality Formation among the Navaho Indians', in *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, 1946, pp. 130–1.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIZATION IN SILWA

Girls' dreams reveal the images of being in danger of drowning in the canal, black jinns with frightening eyes following them, men beating them, and so on.[1]

Children also show fear of certain places believed to be inhabited by evil spirits, for example, deserted or ruined houses, deserted wells, spots where a murder was committed, some certain areas round the cemetery, a spot where a train ran down a person or an animal. It is believed by children and many adults that the person who meets a violent end will reappear as a violent ghost—'sul' or 'marid'—haunting people at night and causing them harm by frightening them with its fiery eyes. A boy of twelve told me of this horrified feeling, when on an errand at night the 'sul' followed him, throwing stones at him, but it disappeared suddenly when the boy passed by a gathering of people on his way, as the 'sul' only appears to a person walking alone at night. Children are also warned against talking to or looking at their shadows, especially on moonlit nights, as this might lead them to insanity. The girls are warned against looking too much at their shadows at night or at their reflection in the mirror for fear of the same malady. To avoid evil spirits, however, children are told to recite the 'Fatiha' or any part of the Koran on passing near the haunted places. Charms are also held to protect children from such dangers.

In discussing these sources and manifestations of fear, especially those connected with the supernatural world, one cannot ignore the psychoanalytical interpretation which considers spirits and demons as projections of repressed aggressive tendencies against beloved persons. The writer is inclined to explain children's fears and their genuine belief in the existence of ogresses and bogies in the village as a projection of repressed hostile attitudes towards their parents or other members of the family.[2]

In this connection, one is tempted to ask the question: to what extent does the incentive of fear as a motive, so much emphasized in the village, affect the undercurrent trends of the social relationship between the villagers? The tension and suspicion discerned in the interpersonal relationships epitomized in the saying that 'every man has an enemy' could be related to the excess in resorting to both fear and rivalry motives in the bringing up of children. The favourite legendary figure of 'Jiha' is liked by both children and adults, because of his trickery and cunning that always enables him to take revenge.[3] It could also be suggested that this anxiety and fear through which children are stimulated is partially

[1] See Appendix XI.

[2] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, pp. 87, 140.

For a refcrence to the striking feelings of ambivalence of children towards their parents in primitive society, see M. Fortes, 'Parenthood in Primitive Society', where he says that as the parents in primitive societies are responsible for the passing on of cultural traditions, relations of children towards their parents tend to be ambivalent. There is commonly a feeling of hostility underlying the affection and gratitude of children felt towards their parents. *Man*, May 1952, p. 63.

[3] See Chapter VIII.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

858 to those of the adults, he is debarred from adult circles, and adult activities; and grown-ups do not expect their children to express any opinion on matters which are outside their domain. Although they are expected to orientate themselves to the same sphere of life, children are not given any significant role in the social life of the village, apart from their economic role. Until the age of twelve the children are not expected to [999] go to the mosque to say their prayers, and if they go they are allowed to sit in the back row only, and never in the front or the middle. Women and girls, however, do not go to the mosque at all in Silwa, and are not expected to do so. There is no religious sanction for this, however; Islam has enjoined mosque prayers on both sexes. Compared with the Tale child, the social sphere of the Silwa child is more restricted in many respects. In the former society, the social sphere of adults and children is differentiated only in terms of relative capacity. 'Nothing in the universe of adult behaviour is hidden from children, or barred to them. They are actively and responsibly part of the social structure, of the economic system, the ritual and ideological system.'[1] In Silwa, however, although children may know about the happenings and events of the adult world in the social sphere, they are not expected to take an active part, or to show interest in them, unless they are asked to do so. On some occasions the writer heard children who, on enquiring about the guests coming to the house, or the nature of the gifts taken to relatives, or where father was going, were silenced and asked to 'mind their own business'.

● 828 Moreover, the process of 'growing-up' is believed to be affected by the character traits of the parents and close relatives on both the patrilineal and matrilineal side.[2] The belief is that the virtues and vices of the parents and their family line are transmitted, through heredity, to their offspring. Especially in the case of outstanding physical features or social characteristics, their presence is invariably accounted for by inheritance from ancestors; if not directly inherited from the parents, they could be traced to the grandfather or to the great-grandfather. Trends of character, whether of meanness, hospitality, piety, wickedness, aggression or docility, seem to run in the families. A person who deviates from what is known about his family is referred to as 'a mistake' or 'a slip', whether in praise or blame depending on the context. One hears sayings and phrases to the effect that 'so-and-so by nature is good or bad'; 'his roots are rotten'; 'nature prevails over nurture (attaba yaghlib attatbu)'; 'people are of different metals; those who were good in the pre-Islamic period, will be equally good in Islam (annas maadin), Khiyaruhum fi al-Jahiliya, khiyaruhum fi al-Islam'.

861 It must be pointed out here that the process of socialization which is strongly felt during childhood and adolescence is not only conducted through the agency of the family, both conjugal and extended, but also

[1] M. Fortes, *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland*, p. 9.
[2] See Chapter IV, concerning the child's character traits.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

to be specialists in transmitting to others the religious knowledge of the Holy Book and the pious ancestors. The oral means of communicating and committing to memory the accumulated experiences is the best guide for perpetuating the group's tradition. It is not surprising, then, that old people are considered as knowing more than the young, and that, on these grounds, they are worthy of respect and obedience. The young have to wait many years before they can wield the same prestige and authority, for the instruments of wisdom may only be acquired through the passage of time. It is not unusual to hear people who wish to assert their position or to impress others with their views saying: 'I am a man who has witnessed both the pre-Islamic (jahiliya) and Islamic eras.'[1]

Good memory is certainly a great asset and indeed highly valued in Silwa, and the person with a good memory is usually described as the one with 'the full head'. The ability to remember names, places, events, and genealogies enhances the person's popularity and makes his participation and consultation desirable in social activities. The emphasis on memory training is impressed on the child as early as its efforts to learn to talk. Mothers utter a few words for the child to repeat, and then ask it to go round to all those who may be present, and say these words to each in turn, and this is recognized as the best method for the teaching of language. One of the favourite amusements of adults with children is to test the latter in reciting the names of their families in genealogical order. Very frequently, however, the adults may purposely interject incorrect names to mislead the children. Some children between the age of three and four, on being asked by the writer to recite their family names, would tell him as many as four or five of their names (the first name, followed by the father's name, the grandfather's, the great-grandfather's and so on).[2] In a symbolical way, the mother encourages the child to eat pigeon's head, as it is believed that this will foster the child's alertness of memory in later years of life.

It would be very difficult to determine here to what extent the importance laid on memory and memorization has been the product of the Islamic view of learning. It should be mentioned, however, in this connection that knowledge, for the Moslem scholars, was not so much a reaching out to the unknown (research), as it was a mechanical process of amassing the 'known'; the known being eternal and given, is unchangeable. Thus the acquisition of information and the deduction from accepted premises were the most important methods of knowledge.[3] A learned man

[1] This is, of course, an artificial claim such as the English expression, 'I don't know him from Adam'. The historical sense amongst the villagers, especially the older generation, is mainly thought of in the partition between the two eras, the pre-Islamic and the Islamic.

[2] It must be pointed out that in Silwa, or for that matter in Egypt as a whole, there is no system of first names and surnames. In Silwa, every person is always called by his first name. Unfamiliarity or respect requires only the addition of the title 'sheikh' in front of the first name.

[3] H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, pp. 64-6.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

INDIGENOUS LEARNING AND TEACHING

children and adults have their feet firmly established on the ground, and fancies of imagination are neither encouraged nor desirable.

My informant, Ali, told me a point which is relevant to this question of imagination. He said that one should not think in terms of 'if' or 'as if', as according to the prophetic tradition, ' "if" opens the path for the Devil's advance'. It is also interesting to mention that the classical Arabic word for imagination (khayal) is used in the village to denote 'shadow', and does not refer to a mental process, except, of course, to some literate persons. This does not mean that some children are not imaginative, and they are recognized by other children who may sometimes sneer at them by asking them to relate some of their fantasies (literally pinches). Children would tell you that such flights of fancy run through certain families. Adults, however, do not expect children to use, much less exercise or enrich, their imagination as this would hamper their social and economic maturity.

In discussing the formal educational institutions in the village at the present time, the Kuttab comes first in importance, as it is the indigenous school for memorizing the Koran. The word 'Kuttab' is an old Arabic word, connected in its etymological derivation with the word 'kitab' (book), being the place where the Holy Book is learnt. The educational ideals and methods of this institution are mainly influenced by the Islamic tradition of learning, an example of which is the advice given by the Caliph Harun al Rashid to al-Ahmar, the tutor of his son, al-Amin, in which he said: 'O, Ahmar, I have given you the child of my blood, the fruit of my loins, and given you power over him, and made him obedient to you; therefore prove worthy of this position. Teach him the Koran, History, Poetry, Traditions, and appreciation of eloquence. Prevent him from laughing except on proper occasions. Accustom him to respect the Sheikhs of the Hashimite family, and to offer a place to the military commanders if they attend to his council. . . . Do not be too kind to him, or he will take to idleness. Improve him kindly, but if that will not suffice, you can treat him harshly.'[1]

Another example would also serve to illustrate the content and method of Islamic education. This is taken from the instructions given by 'Amr Ibn 'Utbah to the tutor of his sons: 'My sons will be deeply influenced by you: favour what you do, and abhor what you avoid. Teach them the Koran, but without wearying them of it, recite to them what is good in traditions, and chaste in poetry. . . . Teach them the virtues of wise men, and keep them away from women's conversation.'[2] Whether with private

content and of 'perspective' in technique; with persons walking sideways in the ancient Egyptian tradition of drawing.

For similar results about free drawings, see Margaret Mead, *Growing up in New Guinea*, p. 12.

[1] A. Ibn Khaldoun, *al-Mukkadimak*, Cairo, p. 399 (Arabic).

[2] A. Shalaby, 'History of Moslem Education' (Ph.D. Thesis, unpublished, Cambridge University, 1950).

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

Appendix Eleven

A NOTE ON SOME DREAMS COLLECTED IN THE VILLAGE

DREAMS are considered to be of value as a means of obtaining useful ethnological material, and thus could serve purposes similar to those of tests. The significance of dreams is hence relevant data for our study. It must be pointed out here that the writer was not fully aware of the importance of such data while he was in the field, and for this reason he did not collect enough dreams, and the ones recorded here are all those collected, without any selection.

In Silwa, women are reputed to be more capable of dreaming than men; they are also known to be better interpreters. Boys and girls do not communicate their dreams either to their parents or to other boys and girls. It was a great surprise for them to be asked to recollect dreams, and much effort was required by them to recall them.

It is believed that dreams are inspired by angels, or at least they are caused by some vaguely defined supernatural forces. The importance of dreams, especially as a means of forecasting future happenings, receives its religious justification from the story of the Prophet Joseph related in the Koran showing his infallible insight in interpreting dreams. At least, among men in the village, it is believed that the dreams of a person who sleeps ritually clean are truer than those of one who is not in the same state.

As in Tikopia, the weight attached to a dream varies according to the intensity of the personal situation at the time; a dream receives more credence in so far as it can be related to some question immediately at issue.[1] When a person is in a critical situation, e.g. financial difficulty, absence of a son, expecting decision in a law suit, or in the case of a pregnant woman, he or she does not only pay considerable attention to dreams, but asks relatives and friends to dream for him or her. On their part, such relatives and friends volunteer to tell such a person about dreams in which he or she may appear.

There is a certain formal technique of interpreting dreams, especially amongst women, which the writer did not investigate. The narration of

[1] Raymond Firth, 'The Meaning of Dreams in Tikopia', in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, ed. by E. Evans-Pritchard *et al.*, London, 1934, p. 63.

1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

APPENDIX XII

153

PASS-ALONG

I.Q.	Frequency		
	boys	girls	total
30–39	1	3	4
40–49	0	1	1
50–59	0	2	2
60–69	0	8	8
70–79	3	8	11
80–89	1	9	10
90–99	11	2	13
100–109	11	10	21
110–119	8	3	11
120–129	2	1	3
130–139	1	0	1

For the results of test I the following remarks may be made concerning the interpretive significance of its scores.

1. As far as this small group of thirty-one boys and girls (with an average chronological age of eleven years eight months for boys, and eleven years four months for girls) is concerned, the results fall below the average norm of intelligence compared with urban children on whom the test was standardized.

2. The distribution in the sample, however, roughly follows the normal distribution.

3. Comparing boys and girls, the latter tend to have slightly higher scores on the whole than the boys.

For the results of tests II and III one notes that:

1. Unless the sample of test I happens to be of low intelligence (an assumption for which there is no apparent justification except the small number) tests II and III appear to be better tests than test I. In these tests children, including the sample in test I, have scored average and even superior I.Q.s. In test III, especially in the case of boys, the curve shows a skew towards the superior I.Q. tendency.

3. Boys on the whole have better scores in these performance tests than girls. In the Porteus Maze test only three girls out of sixty-three are above the average (100), while thirteen boys out of sixty-four fall above the average. In the Pass-along test the area representing boys of average or above average I.Q. is larger than that of the girls.

It is to be noted here that one of the boys who is mentally deficient and could not handle the test problems of the performance tests at all, is called Shaikh' (saint) by the rest of the school children. Among the adults there

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

APPENDIX XII

are in the village four people who may be considered by psychologists as insane or mentally deficient but are regarded as possessing a 'saintly touch'. However, the use of these three types of intelligence tests tends to indicate, apart from the difficulty of sampling, that the children have an intelligence of the practical type. The nature of the performance tests is perhaps nearer to the problems of their serious activities of everyday life. On the whole they scored better in Pass-along than Porteus.

It is worth mentioning that some of the children who came out well in the performance tests did very badly with the verbal test, and this could be attributed to the unfamiliarity of the children with the intellectual items of the latter. Apart from the mathematical items, this unfamiliarity could be demonstrated by item 8, Section 1. In it, the child is asked: 'If you want to give your mother a present what will you choose: a skipping rope, a toy, a silk stocking or a bicycle?' Although the obvious answer according to the test is 'silk stocking', which some children gave, others gave 'a skipping rope' or 'a bicycle' while none chose a toy. On asking a boy why he chose a bicycle, he answered that after giving it to his mother he would take it back for himself. Some of those who chose the rope thought that it was a useful thing for mother as she 'would hang the washing on it'. The difference of value-attitudes implied in such items and their influence on answers given, is similar to that classical example given by Klineberg with regard to one of the items of the 'National Intelligence Test' which was administered to some children of an Indian tribe. In this item the subject is presented with the words: crowd, closeness, danger, dust, excitement, number, and is asked to underline only two words which are the necessary characteristics of the crowd. Although 'closeness and number' are the correct answers according to the key of the test, yet many of the Indian children underlined danger and dust and in other cases excitement. According to their own logic and experience these answers seem to be the right ones.[1]

In our case the results of testing by a verbal test brings out the validity of applying tests standardized for urban children to rural children. By no means all the children who took the Kabbani test are mentally deficient, but the test itself is overweighted with items that are more suitable to city children, and may fail to sample adequately those abilities in which the rural children excel. In the United States and Britain studies of urban-rural differences in intelligence have revealed that rural children are neither uniformly nor consistently inferior to urban children on all tests.[2] Our small-scale testing tends to confirm the conclusion that while rural children score low in tests of abstract intelligence, they may excel in tests of the mechanical or practical type.

Although doubts could be cast on the quantitative results of tests that are not standardized for a particular community, such tests could be used

[1] Otto Klineberg, *Race and Psychology*, Unesco, Paris, 1951, p. 11.
[2] A. Anastasi and J. Foley, *Differential Psychology*, New York, 1949, pp. 823–7.

'AFĀRĪT

years of age, who used to be a village guard. He told a friend of mine that he knew that the ground on which the *'omdeh's* engine now stands used to be the haunt of *'afārīt*, for, when doing patrols at night round the outskirts of the village, he had sometimes seen on that spot a plough pulled by oxen and driven by a man, or sometimes a threshing-machine with the oxen and their driver, all made of fire. As this guard approached them he would cross himself, whereupon the *'afārīt* who had assumed these forms would disappear.

If a woman fears that *'afārīt* are in her house she puts a *ḫulleh* of water on the floor of one of the rooms, and near it she places some bread and salt, leaving them in this position during the night. This protects the whole house, and effectually prevents any *'afārīt* from entering it.

Nightmare and sleepwalking are supposed to be caused by *'afārīt*, and if a child suffers from either of these complaints it is a sign that an *'afrīt* has entered its body. This may have happened because the child has done something wrong; perhaps, so it was suggested to me, it had plucked some of the ears of corn from a field belonging to a neighbour. If a Coptic child sleepwalks or has nightmare its parents call in a priest, who tells them to bring seven *ḫanādīl* (old-fashioned saucer-lamps, with floating wicks). The priest then asks for a jar of water, and prays seven special prayers, burning incense meanwhile in a censer. As he finishes one prayer he puts out one lamp, after a second prayer a second lamp, and so on, till all the prayers are said and all the lamps extinguished. He now tells the parents to place the jar of water on the roof of the house, where it must remain for one night. On the following morning the child is bathed in the water, after which, it is believed, he will be cured.

Among the Muslims if a child is affected in this way the parents go to a magician, who writes a charm of protection for the child to wear.

In addition to his soul (*rōḥ*) every human being is believed to possess an *'afrīt* which leaves his body at death. In certain circumstances it may be a menace to any person who comes near it. Animals also have an *'afrīt*. This belief especially attracted my attention recently. A little dog which had been badly injured took refuge in the bathroom of my house. My servant told me that he was sure it could not live, and that, before it died, he must

4:Wilker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

Only, if the disease be concealed some days of the year, as happens in the winter season usually, the " physician " goes off boasting of his cure, charging the patients to take care still more, imposing upon them many hard conditions, so that he has a thousand excuses when the disease reappears.

XLIX

ENVY (ḤASAD)

" When the envier casts his evil eye,
Bring fire and *ṣhabb*, together with *fāsūkh* and *jāwī*,[1]
And if the Beldame of the tribe is present,
She will say: ' Incensing is most beneficial in curing.' "

Doctors have tried to account for envy, and their latest explanation is that it is due to the electric magnetism which exists in varying quantity in all things. In inorganic bodies it is the gravitational force, in plants it is the life principle. In human beings this electricity is found in a power which differs in quantity and quality. The former is known; the latter, on the other hand, is of two kinds, either beneficial or pernicious.

When the former kind is found in a person it makes him well disposed in wordly affairs. You see him attracting favours either by his appearance or by the elegance of his address or the beauty of his manners in society. On account of this, love of appearance is engendered, or enthusiasm for the discourse of a speaker, and there is destined for its owner the approval of men according to his business, or trade, or manner of life. But when the latter kind is found in a person it makes him become artful in subjects of evil report. You see him either a thief or a practicer of the lowest crafts, or addicted to covetousness and vengeance, if it is in his power to do so. And by means of whatever amount of this evil

[1] [These substances are explained *infra*. Tr.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

power is given to him he imposes on simpletons by various tricks until he steals whatever they possess. You even see him in a court of justice looking innocent and pitied by men just because of his influence over them.

The evil magnetic electricity, which we name *envy*, directs itself by way of man's senses. And as it effects the sense of sight, so also sometimes touch, smell and hearing.

One of my acquaintances said to me that the *Faḳīh*[1] of their village was " envying " children by staring at them, and whenever the envier directed his gaze upon the envied one in the moment of excitement his poison affected that current and weakened the life movement in animals and plants, and they were wasted and lost. And in proportion to the power of the envier in overcoming the power of the envied, so is the strength or weakness of the danger, and there results a slight or a severe illness, or death, or the snapping of trees, or the destruction of lofty palaces.

A reliable person has related that there was a man, named al-Safti, in the village of Dafrawi in the Province of Buhaira, twenty years ago, who was an evil-doer. The people of that district knew this. One of his atrocities was that when he was sitting with a company of evil companions, one day, in front of his house, there passed by him a number of Gypsies (*Ghagar*) driving camels to market. He bargained with them for a camel, but they did not accept the price which it was worth to them. Then one of his companions said to him, " Woe to thee, O Ṣaftī ! Allow us to eat of its flesh just now ! " So he shook his head (in assent) and overtook the merchants and seized the camel's head-rope, and said, while he was intently looking at it, " Oh, you fat camel ! " [p. 96.] Then the narrator swears that the camel did not move from its place but fell to the ground, and they slaughtered it. But (he says) the strange fact was that its flesh was tasteless and blueish in colour.

A friend told me that two men skilled in envy (*ḥasad*) and renowned for it were feared by the people. One day one of these two went to visit his friend (the other envier) and found him ploughing the land with two large oxen. So he looked

[1] [See footnote above, p. 40.]